593x 152 With reference to signs of affection, grief at the time of death, etc., the observations made for parent-child relationships hold true here -- mutatis mutandis.

3. Various relatives

602 The Nkundo's affection extends toward all members of his family, that is, all those with whom he feels linked by blood and common origin. These relatives are much greater in number than in Europe, because Nkundó kinship includes many more generations. The intensity of affection decreases with the distance of the degree of kinship. But the Nkundó knows and feels that he belongs to a large family, and he remains attached to all its members. He can find a home with any of them. This accounts for the fact that in the centers, men from the same village will look for each other and consider [621] each other "brothers." Actually, that is what they are, since in general each village consists of only a single kin group.

Although here, as in the case of brothers and sisters, common interests play a part in maintaining bonds between family members, the feelings of affection are not based on selfish considerations. The latter only reinforce these feelings, which are truly innate among the Nkundó. Among the various relatives the strongest attachments are developed between grandparents and grandchildren, uncles and aunts and nephews and nieces, male cousins and female cousins, etc.

603 Among the Nkundó as among Europeans there is a very strong affection between grandparents and grandsons, even greater, one might say, than between parents and children (the expression is: bɔ̃na [30] l'onkɛ́nɛ́, ndekɛ́ nd'ɔ̃nkɛ́nɛ́). But the relationship degenerates into compliance and weakness on one side, and into disrespectful carelessness on the other.

604 A Nkundó loves his paternal uncles and aunts and treats them like "fathers," and his maternal uncles and aunts like "mothers." Naturally, his feelings toward them are not as affectionate as for his parents, but they are an extension of these in an attenuated form.

605 The same situation holds true for the bonds which link him to his cousins, whom he calls "brothers" and "sisters." The children of his paternal aunt are his "fathers," however.

583* 602 Thus there is no special family treasure upon which the various members can draw to obtain wives. But since bride prices paid out generally come from bride prices received, and all the wealth which comes to the family as such (that is, which is not the result of purely individual and personal work by one member) is to some extent owned by the members in common, it may be said in a sense that all the members of a family share rights in the wealth of the group. However, their rights exist only to the [134] extent of their kinship and as regulated by the family council.

Even members of the family who are not legally required to do so are not unwilling to give to a relative whatever portion they can save for him. Nevertheless, I know of isolated instances where assistance was refused, either out of avarice or of opposition to the proposed marriage. But such a refusal is a neglect of the duties of kinship, and its gravity depends on the relationship between the individuals involved. (1) A refusal on the part of the mother's family

1. Remember what has already been said, namely that we must always clearly distinguish among duties imposed by law and those imposed by kinship, friendship, decorum, courtesy, and social proprieties.

almost never occurs. For they have been enriched by the bride price received for the young man's mother, and consequently he is always entitled to the bride price paid for one of the daughters of his mother's nkita (a nkita is a woman obtained by means of the bride price that has been paid).

Therefore he goes to his maternal uncle (nyangɔ́-mpámɛ́ (2)

583* 604

2. Literally, "male mother."

or nya-ngɔ́bika among the Wɛ̌ngatɛ́, Bakɛ́ala, and Lifumba). This uncle always helps him, whether his means are great or small. Under certain conditions the nephew may even claim rights over his uncle's harem. But here we must distinguish between different cases. (Let us

583 x 604 not forget that we are speaking of a young man who has not yet received a wife in his own clan.)

1) The uncle has priority rights if he has only one wife, even if she is the nkita of the nephew's mother. If that wife cannot live in peace with her husband, however, and if she is always trying to break up the marriage and go to another man, the husband's family can itself intervene and assign the wife to the nephew, if the couple love each other. By this means they try to prevent her from going elsewhere; it is preferable that she remain within the kin group. For if the marriage is broken and she leaves them, the family becomes involved in a long restitution process, [135] giving rise to numerous difficulties and to an end of revenue -- if that expression can be used -- from bride-price valuables.

2) If his uncle has two wives, the nephew can claim rights only over the one acquired by means of his own mother's bride price. The exception cited under item 1) holds even more true in this case.

In the two situations cited above, however, the family tries to appease the nephew by assigning to him the expected bride price of a female cousin. They do not yield to his demands unless no other solution is available.

3) If his uncle has several wives (four, five, or more), the nephew has the right to take one of them, if none of them were acquired by means of the bride price paid for the uncle's sister, that is, the nephew's mother.

583 x 604 428 If any of these eventualities materialize, the nephew is required to leave his father's clan (wisi) and to enter his mother's family (bonyango). Actually, he is not averse to doing so. For we may suppose that in his father's kin group he has neither wealth nor future, while in that of his uncle he finds all he needs. He is considered his uncle's own child, and even has seniority over his cousins. He is their father (isi) and consequently has precedence over them; and he can succeed his uncle as family patriarch. Moreover, upon his uncle's death he always inherits one of his widows and becomes the first -- and often the only -- successor after the brothers of the deceased. (1)

1. This inheritance right is valid even if he continues to live in his own clan, in which case, however, it is impossible for him to become the chief or only heir.

589[c] 604 These rights prevail even if the nephew has wealth at home. In that case -- which is extremely rare since ordinarily he prefers to remain with his own clan -- he does not make use of them if his uncle has only two or three wives (whom, however, he can inherit), [596] or if other close relatives [136] are in need. For to do so would show a great lack of affection for the family (lɔ́ɔ́ta), and he would be severely reprimanded.

Because of all that, the nephew (bɔ́nankɔ́nɔ́, "sister's son") sometimes abuses his rights. That is the basis for the following proverbs: nkɔ́ɔ́ ákumb'omdɔ́ɔ́ lokombo, "the leopard takes the owner of the hunting enclosure" (that is to say, the hunter); bɔ́nankɔ́nɔ́ ɔ́fonola nyangɔ́mpɛ́mɔ́ walí nd'ɛ́ɛ́ko, "the nephew abducts the uncle's wife even in his own domain"; bɔ́nankɔ́nɔ́ ale inganja v'ɔ́liko, "a nephew is a stick overhead." This last proverb is the Nkundó version of the sword of Damocles.

In short, a nephew has a right to the assistance of his maternal uncle if he settles with him and is adopted by him. Upon the death of his uncles he becomes heir and head of the family. But his rights are second to those of his uncle's brothers, who are also his "mothers." If he remains in his own clan, he receives help and can even obtain the bride price of one of his female cousins born of his mother's nkita. He may even receive part of the inheritance, if it is large. His rights are based on the fact that his uncle was enriched by the valuables given him by the nephew's clan in payment for his sister's marriage.

589[c] 556 Finally, if a young man does not even have any close relatives, because all are deceased, and if for some reason he has no patrimony (because of dissipation, debts, exploitation of the weak by the strong), he is forced to procure the bride price through his own labor: carving, hunting, fishing, setting elephant snares, making traps and hunting enclosures, clearing fields, or, nowadays, working in the service of the Whites. In former times there was also the possibility of war or raids by which he could obtain valuables or prisoners to sell as slaves. The wealth which someone acquires by his own work is called bɔ́ɔ́mbɔ́ (bakonga, etc.) bɔ́ mpambɔ́ɔ́ko (literally, "by the strength of his arms").
[137]

582 ●604 B. Members of different generations in the collateral line: Marriage with older, "superior" relatives of the spouse is forbidden. The Injólɔ́ sometimes make an exception for an aunt of the spouse after the latter's death, but this practice is very much frowned upon.

Marriage with the spouse's inferior, younger relatives is permitted.

Example 5

Insílo (M) Eambéla (F)

Wenga (M) † Wétsi (F)

Wenga may not marry Eambela (with the exception noted).

Example 6

Efomi (M) Bokánga (F)

Bofta (M) † Bekombe (F)

This case is identical with the preceding one.

Example 7

Efoloko (M) Bonjembo (F)

Esalo (M) † Etúli (F)

or

Efoloko Bonjembo

Benteke (F) † Lokósɔ́ (M)

Marriage is forbidden in any event [255]

Example 8

Bofɔ́ (M) Bolefɔ́ (M) † Wanga (F)

Lofeka (M)

Lofeka may marry Wanga.

582 Example 8 (continued)
604 or

Boátɛ́ (M) + Wanga — Bolefɔ́ | Lofeka

Example 9

Bosenge (F) + Bonyeme (M) ǂ Eɓmɛ́ (F) | Bosɛ́si may marry Eɓmɛ́.

Bosɛ́si (M)

The same rules apply equally to great-uncles and great-aunts, and to cousins who are not equals (related as "father" and "son"; see the table of kinship relations and terminology in the appendix).

582 607 C. Equals in the collateral line: The degree of relationship is of no importance, for example, marriage with an older sister (or cousin) of the spouse is forbidden; marriage with a younger sister is permitted. The same rule applies to women, but after the husband's death an exception is sometimes made in the elder brother's favor in order to facilitate inheritance arrangements. Only the Boáŋgí -- like [184] the Elánga of Losanganya -- make no distinction between elder and younger siblings and always permit the marriage. They are even beginning to be imitated by the Injɔlɔ́.

Example 10

Bongoso (M) ǂ Mbela (F) + Bolɔ́fo (F) | Bongoso may marry Bolɔ́fo.

Example 11

Mpoku (F) + Boongi (F) ǂ Njamba (M) | Njamba may not marry Mpoku.

2. Indirect Affinity

582 606 604 A. Marriage among those of lineal relationship is forbidden but certain exceptions are permitted. There are two possibilities: with the father's wife (Example 16) and with the son's wife (Example 17).

Example 16

Mbembe (M) ∔ Ekila (F)
|
Itúna (M) ∔ Bokósa (F)

If Bokósa dies or is divorced from Itúna, the latter may marry Ekila, but this exception is not often made because they would be very open to unkind criticism. [257]

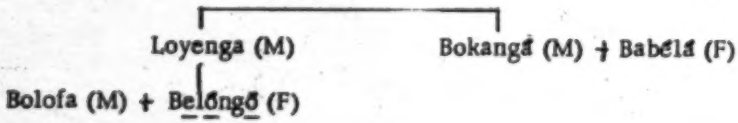
Example 17

Etáfé (M) ∔ Bokolí (F)
|
Njoku (M) ∔ Imángé (F)

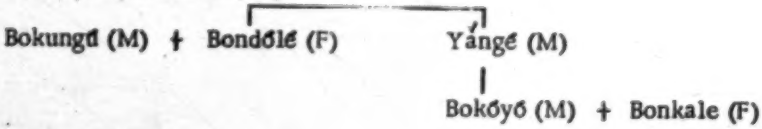
After Bokolí's death Etáfé is permitted to marry Imángé. Such a marriage is more leniently regarded if Etáfé himself paid the bride price for Imángé, for in that case he is preserving his capital in marrying her. This consideration may also apply during Bokolí's lifetime, if Imángé does not want to remain with Njoku. Under such circumstances, however, Njoku's mother would oppose the marriage with all her power. If Etáfé does not listen to reason, he can expect [586] a divorce or even war with Bokolí's clan, to whom he is doing a great injury by taking away his stepson's wife. After divorce Bokolí's kin may refuse to give Etáfé her new bride price and may give it directly to Njoku so that he can obtain a wife to replace the one that was taken from him.

582 The same rules are applicable to aunts and uncles, but they
604 are less strict:

Example 18 (comparable to Example 16):

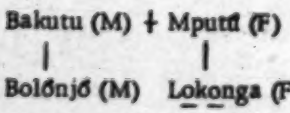


Example 19 (comparable to Example 17):



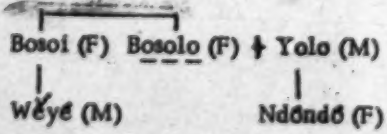
582 B. Marriage between affines who are collaterally related through their
595x lineal relatives:
605
[602] a) Marriage between descendants [of the lineal relatives through whom the affinity is established] is strictly forbidden. Thus, the children of two spouses may not marry each other; they are considered brothers and [258] sisters. The same rule applies to two half-cousins (Example 21).

Example 20:



Marriage between Bolónjó and Lokonga is strictly prohibited.

Example 21



Marriage between Wéyé and Ndóndó is prohibited.

593x 607 837 to have relations with her. If the woman refuses to have relations with her brother-in-law, the latter often reports her ill will to her husband, who will reprimand her or even strike her because she does not love his own brother, and will accuse her of having lovers: ótóna bɔ̌n'ɔ̌ɔ̂ ngɔ́ya, ɗlangakɛ́ ńk'aend'ánkina. Since there is more affection between brothers born of the same mother, the husband's anger would then be even greater. A lack of affection on the part of his wife arouses her husband's suspicions on the question of her fidelity because Nkundɔ́ women are extremely ready to yield to temptation. [305] Therefore if she refuses her own brother-in-law-husband, she must be obtaining satisfaction elsewhere. This reasoning may be false, but it is based on a frequency of cases. The husband's attitude does not show a lack of jealousy; on the contrary, it proves its existence.

If the younger brother meets his sister-in-law in the home of her family, they will intervene on his behalf. They will tell her to receive "her husband" well, to prepare food for him, to clean the hut set aside for him. They will even force her to cohabit with him for the entire duration of his stay in their village. By this means they seek to avoid palavers with their son-in-law. If the woman's antipathy toward her brother-in-law is so great that she cannot be made to submit to him, they sometimes give their visitor another of their daughters (or cousins, etc.), younger than his brother's wife, to perform wifely duties for him.

All those designated as bakɔ́nɛ́ in Nkundɔ́ terminology fall into the same category as a younger brother (thus younger male cousins are also included). The seriousness of the conflict that may arise on this question and of its consequences vary in proportion to the degree of kinship between the individuals involved.

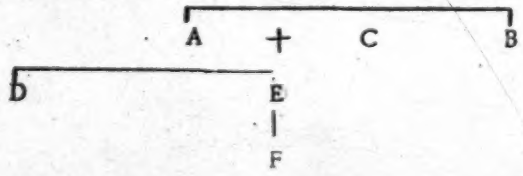
● 604 837 578 593x C. The position of a nephew (bɔ̌nankɔ́nɛ́) in relation to his maternal uncle's wives is to a great extent comparable to that of a son in relation to his father's wives. The fact that marriage is effected through the payment of a bride price gives the nephew greater freedom; for the uncle was enriched through the marriage of his

604 837 578 583* nephew's mother. There is no question of indemnity, except that of "respects," to show the nephew's submission, and it consists of a hen and a bunch of bananas. If the nephew refuses to make this gesture of deference and submission, he is considered in the wrong and the entire family gangs up on him in order to save the authority and hierarchy of the family. "You are offending your uncle," they say, "no doubt you want him to die so that you can take his place and profit from the inheritance." And the offended uncle, after being patient for a few days, may demand a real indemnity. [306] But then other considerations become involved, and a new situation is created.

Actually, the young man's mother often -- though not always -- takes his side and turns on her brother. Two situations may arise:

1) The nephew's mother may not be born of the same mother as the uncle. In that case she seldom refrains from intervening on her son's behalf. She reproaches her brother for his hardness and his lack of affection for her, especially if the adulterous wife is her nkita, that is, if she were acquired by means of the bride price paid for her. She will say, "To whom do you owe this wife? And yet you demand riches from my son. Give me back my bride price, so that I may get him a wife." The uncle also gets angry, and sometimes accedes to his indignant sister's request and returns her bride price. If he does so all relationship between brother and sister is broken. But this is an unusual outcome; matters are almost always settled before this extremity is reached.

2) If brother and sister have the same mother, peace is always re-established before this aggravation, and the interchange is limited to a few reproaches and a little momentary anger. For the proverb says, bɔ̌sangí nyangɔ́ bɔ̌fomb'ilɔ́ngɔ́, "hatred between children of the same mother is but feigned, illusory; it is not true or real."



604 837 578 578 An uncle (see D above) is not entirely free to cure his nephew's (F) passion unless he is the nkólo of his sister (E), that is, unless the mother (C) of his sister (E) is the nkita of his aunt (B), [307] who is the sister of his father (A). Indeed in that case his sister may not complain, for she owes him respect and submission; her subordination to her brother and master is greater than the gratitude he owes her for any riches he may have obtained through her or on her account.

603 837 D. In the case of the relationship of a grandson (bonkáná) to his grandfather's wives, his freedom is, in practice, complete. Actually, among the Nkundó the affection of a grandfather (nkóko) for his own grandson often exceeds his love for his own son and completely degenerates into weakness. (1) The grandfather puts up with all his

1. As happens very often also in Europe. See Chapter I, Part 1, Article I, 3.

grandson's carryings-on, his whims, all his teasing, his insults, etc.

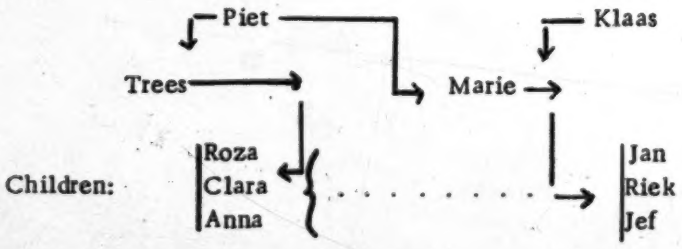
After illicit relations the grandson sometimes carries his insolence so far as to spontaneously send his grandfather a "mock" indemnity in the form of a basket filled with stones in the place of copper rings.

626 603 837 Although the grandfather treats his grandson with good humor, public opinion does not favor the latter's conduct, though it is more lenient than in the cases described above. The public reaction, as well as the sending of the "mock" fine, shows that in principle these relations are censurable and condemned. Because of present circum- [178] stances, particularly marriage at an earlier age than in the past, the age difference between a grandson and his grandfather's wives has increased considerably in the constantly growing number of cases, and their relations have proportionately decreased. (2) [308]

[184] 2. We have seen above that other Nkundó tribes are even less strict in these matters. On the other hand, the Ekonda, a Nkundó group living on Lake Leopold II, have a

Rights of the Male Children in Relation to the Nkita of Their Mother

596 583 605 We have already seen that the right of succession and fatherhood passed to the male children of the sister, because she had been sold and had brought money into the family, or rather because she had a nkita there, a sort of guarantee for the money that had been received for her. Nkita-ship brought another right to them, namely, the female children born of the mother's nkita belonged to them; they could sell them and get themselves other women with the money. They could [582] not, however, marry them, since they were their cousins, and custom was opposed to any marriage between relatives. The boys could, [602] nevertheless, take the nkita of their mother as a wife, since the Negroes have no notion of affinity or relationship by marriage. The male children were, then, the owners of the female children that the nkita of their mother brought into the world:



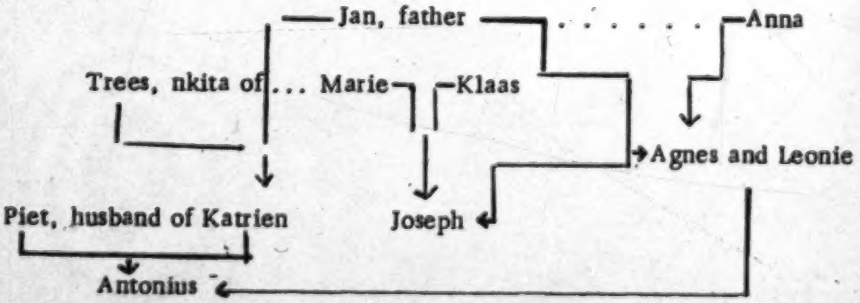
These three girls, children of nkita Trees, belong to the three sons of Marie. If Marie had only one son, then Piet would have the right to trade the two other girls for money and to buy other wives with this money, either for himself or for his younger brother; but if she [Marie?] brought female children into the world, half of them belong to Marie's son.

583 604 If the nkita gave birth to no children of the female sex, the boys of Marie could resort to the husband of the nkita of their mother, namely, their uncle, nyangobika. If, however, he had no fortune, no money, [337] no wives, no girls to sell ... or only wives to whom others could lay claim and had more right, then they were disinherited, poor devils in society, and it cost them long years of work and much

583 searching for old disputes and old arguments about wives to get a wife.
604 And then they were still not always successful; their youth itself was against them here and robbed them constantly of the little that they
464 had saved for that purpose. The means for getting money, such as lances, knives, arm and foot bands, were extremely scarce. The Blacks do not know of workers or servants, and if one of those poor souls presented himself at the home of one who was better endowed by fortune and offered to chop wood for him, to lay out a manioc field, or to build a house for him, to gather straw and bamboo in the forest for that purpose, then the inborn laziness of the Negro would require long months to complete that work. As salary, the worker received only a few bakonga (copper arm of leg bands); these he already owed to the owner for having shown too much inclination for one or another of
589 his wives. The result of this was that many young men remained without a wife and that those who were favored by chance, that is to say,
595 had many children of the female sex in their family, each had several
562 wives. I consider this a primary cause of polygyny. The woman had a relatively high monetary value and represented capital. Thus, it did not happen that anyone gave his daughter or sister to another for nothing, just as among us it does not happen that a farmer gives his cow or horse to a poor devil for nothing.

583 If the father or brother sold a daughter born of the nkita of his
604 daughter or sister -- a right that general custom gave him and which
603 usually occurred, since the children of the female sex were sold very young and the boys, the rightful claimants or owners, in that case were still very young -- this was done in order to buy another wife. The rights of the children shifted then as follows:

[338]



583
604 Jan, the father, by selling Katrien, the nkita of his daughter
603 Marie, becomes indebted to Joseph, the son of Marie and at the same time his own grandson; and on the other side he becomes the debtor of Antonius, his other grandson, by selling his mother, Katrien.

Anna, whom he bought, was then the nkita of Katrien and the quasi-nkita of Marie. Both sons, Joseph and Antonius, were hard pressed because of Anna, the nkita of both of their mothers. If Anna bore two daughters, as I have indicated, the case was simple: the first daughter belonged to Joseph and the second to Antonius. If, however, she gave birth to only one daughter, then this child belonged to Joseph, and Antonius was left out in the cold. If father Jan had no children of the female sex by Anna, then the matter was extremely thorny for both of them, and if their grandfather or uncle possessed no money, had no more wives by whom he had daughters, there was nothing left for them to do but, at his death, to take the nkita of their mother as a wife. For this reason it happened many times that young men lived with old women, and even though there was then generally no more hope of children, those wives were then still good enough to cook the meals and do the little work that a Negro household requires.

000 I will not digress any further about the method of distribution of women, about the rights over the women which the nkita system brings with it. It would take us too far. Furthermore, not only the present, but also the past and the future are involved in it; so that one would have to be a Negro and raised in those matters to understand them clearly ... and even then they involve numerous palavers (disputes), which continually agitate the families and the villages.

[339] The Origin of the Nkita?

596
583 The sale of the woman and the immediate loss of her freedom
562 must naturally have given her cause for revolt. It has perhaps cost the man a severe struggle to make the woman content with her lot. A compensation or reimbursement had to be given to her, and most certainly the nkita system has its origin there. It was at least a partial compensation that the man gave to the woman. It gave her rights over her nkita